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ABSTRACT

This paper is designed to clarify the concept of the family-career connection, defined as the interrelationships of family and career roles. The connection is illustrated in a model that includes the components of aspects of the family, aspects of careers, family functions, trends, and career development interventions. The family-career connection is further explored in a chapter defining basic concepts about the family (family membership, individual needs, coordination patterns, life-cycle stages, and relationship to the outside world) and about individual careers (salience, developmental stages, decision making, and occupational opportunities). The next chapter charts trends in the emerging career roles of women, the emerging child care and household roles of men, and the effects of parental employment on children. The final chapter reviews the implications of this information about families and careers for the improvement of career development and family life education. Six goals for strengthening the family-career connection are outlined. Examples of existing program strategies and recommendations for program development are provided. A list of references concludes the paper. (SK)

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THE FAMILY-CAREER CONNECTION:

A NEW FRAMEWORK FOR CAREER DEVELOPMENT

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FOREWORD

The Educational Resources Information Center Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education (ERIC/ACVE) is one of 16 clearinghouses in a nationwide information system that is funded by the National Institute of Education. One of the functions of the Clearinghouse is to interpret the literature that is entered into the ERIC database. This paper is of particular interest to career, vocational, and adult education practitioners and decision makers; vocational guidance counselors; and career development specialists.

The profession is indebted to Juliet V. Miller for her scholarship in the preparation of this manuscript. Dr. Miller is Associate Director for the Information Systems Division and Director of the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, The National Center for Research in Vocational Education, The Ohio State University. She has been active in the area of career guidance as a counselor educator and as a consultant in guidance. During 1983, Dr. Miller served as President of the National Vocational Guidance Association. She has written books, chapters, monographs, and articles about career development for such special populations as adults, the disadvantaged, and the gifted and talented.

Recognition is also due to Lenore W. Harman, Professor of Educational Psychology, the University of Illinois; Esther Matthews, Eugene, Oregon; and Ann Nunez and Louise Vetter, Research Specialists, of the National Center for Research in Vocational Education, for their critical review of the manuscript prior to its final revision and publication. Susan Imel, Assistant Director at the ERIC Clearinghouse on Adult, Career, and Vocational Education, coordinated the publication's development. She was assisted by Sandra Kerka. Brenda Hemming typed the manuscript and Ms. Hemming and Janet Ray served as word processor operators. Editing was performed by Judy Balogh of the National Center's Editorial Services.

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This paper is designed to clarify the concept of the family-career connection, defined as the interrelationships of family and career roles. The connection is illustrated in a model that includes the components of aspects of the family, aspects of careers, family functions, trends, and career development interventions. The family-career connection is further explored in a chapter defining basic concepts about the family (family membership, individual needs, coordination patterns, life-cycle stages, and relationship to the outside world) and about individual careers (salience, developmental stages, decision making, and occupational opportunities). The next chapter charts trends in the emerging career roles of women, the emerging child care and household roles of men, and the effects of parental employment on children. The final chapter reviews the implications of this information about families and careers for the improvement of career development and family life education. Six goals for strengthening the family-career connection are outlined. Examples of existing program strategies and recommendations for program development are provided. A list of references concludes the paper.

Information on the family-career connection may be found in the ERIC system under the following descriptors: Career Choice; *Career Development; Children; Dual Career Family; *Employed Parents; Employed Women; *Family (Sociological Unit); Family Life Education; Family Relationship; *Family Role; Family Structure; *Role Conflict; Role Models; *Sex Role; Social Change. (Asterisks indicate descriptors having particular relevance.)

THE FAMILY-CAREER CONNECTION: A MODEL

Introduction

Many are concerned that current changes in American society are weakening the family. A closer look indicates that, although families are changing in nature, they are still very much alive. Many of these changes are related to the increased numbers of women in the work force that are the result of both family economic need and women's desire to pursue satisfying careers.

Masnick and Bane (1980) provided a comprehensive description of the various changes that are occurring in the American family. They defined a family as "two or more people who live together and are related to one another by blood or marriage" (p. 12). Their summary of changes in the family includes a decrease in the size of families, an increase in the number of single-parent families, a decrease in the age at which children leave home, an increase in the number of working mothers, an increase in the divorce rate, and an increase in age-segregated living arrangements.

The family serves many important functions for individuals and for society. Masnick and Bane (1980) suggested that families have long contributed to meaningful lives for their members; to the care and education of dependent members, including children, the elderly, and the disabled; and to the maintenance of an economic unit that generates predictable demands for goods and services. Changes in the family dictate new ways of ensuring that it can continue to meet these needs for its members and for society.

Definitions of the traditional family have assumed that there will be two parents in the home. This traditional family is the basis for specific sex roles, played by husbands and wives, that define their responsibilities within the family. For women, this sex role has included what Russo (1979) termed the "motherhood mandate" in which women stay at home to care for children and the household. For men, this sex role has constituted what Bernard (1981) termed the "good provider" role, which mandates that men work outside the home to provide economic stability for the family. Changes in the nature of the family are exerting pressures to modify these traditional sex roles. Members of the young-adult-age cohort--the baby boom generation--are implementing new family patterns, such as delaying marriage, having fewer or no children, emphasizing the importance of women's careers, and advocating greater involvement of men in child rearing and household roles, as possible modifications to more traditional roles.

The movement of women into the labor force has been a strong, consistent trend. The recent Bureau of Labor Statistics (1983) publication Women at Work: A Chartbook summarizes this trend:

- o The proportion of women who are in the labor force has grown from one-third in 1950 to more than one-half today.

- o Since 1970, nearly half of the increase in the female labor force has been among women aged 25 to 34.

- o The number of years an average 20-year-old woman could expect to spend in the labor force nearly doubled between 1950 and 1977, rising from 14 1/2 years to 26 years.

- o In 1982, 55 percent (32 million) of all children under 18 years of age had a mother in the labor force.

- o Mothers of more than 45 percent of all youngsters below age 6 and of nearly 60 percent of those 6 to 17 years were in the labor force in 1982.

- o One of every six families was maintained by a woman in 1982. Women maintaining families are far more likely to be unemployed than husbands or wives, their average family income is less than half that of married couples, and they are five times as likely to be in poverty.

- o Working women are in the same relative earnings position compared to men as they were in the past, averaging about $6 for every $10 earned by men.

These trends indicate that more women are working; that in many cases, for both married and unmarried families, the woman's income is necessary to the family's economic security; and that younger women are increasingly choosing long-term employment, thus increasing the number of years the average woman will work.

These changes in the family are creating the need for human services to help families deal with change and to integrate more closely various aspects of life planning. One response to these changes will be through broad social policy, providing new arrangements for supporting families. Other responses will be direct services to individuals and family units as they engage in both career planning and in planning for child care and homemaking roles.

The Family-Career Connection

Family and career roles are interrelated. Traditional sex roles have helped individuals clarify the nature of the family-career relationship. However, recent changes in the family structure and in the work environment are creating pressures that require families to redefine this relationship. This transition is still in progress and is creating pressure on all family members.

Figure 1, The Family-Career Connection Model, depicts various components of this relationship including (1) aspects of the family, (2) aspects of career, (3) functions served by the family, (4) trends that are creating

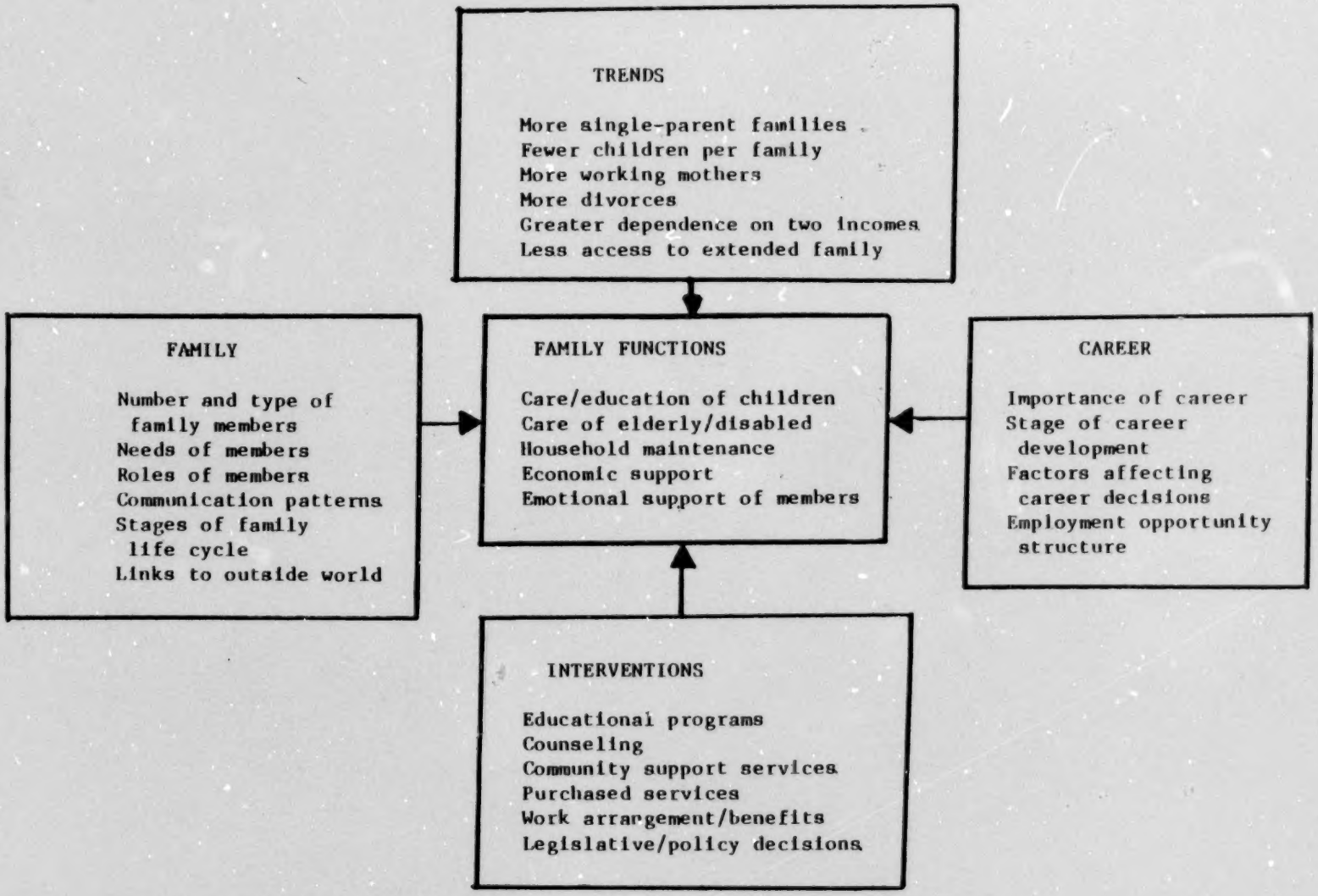

Figure 1. The Family-Career Connection Model

pressures on families, and (5) interventions to help families make family-career decisions that support the family unit and individual career development. This figure is intended to provide a helpful structure for reviewing research related to understanding the family-career connection and for drawing implications from this research for career development practice.

The left side of figure 1 represents the family, a social unit of two or more people who live together and are related to each other by blood or marriage. This includes two-parent families, single-parent families, childless married couples, and so on. Although families vary greatly, there are several characteristics that can be used to describe and understand families. These characteristics include the number and types of family members, the needs of family members and ways in which the family meets these needs, the roles assumed by family members, communication patterns within the family, stages in the family life cycle, and the types of links that the family has to the outside world.

The right side of figure 1 represents various aspects of family members' careers, or the series of work-related experiences throughout one's life. Elements of career include career salience or the importance of work to individual family members, the career development stages of individual family members, factors that affect the nature of career decisions made by family members, and the effect of the opportunity structure of the world of work on career opportunities for family members.

The center of figure 1 describes the functions served by the family. This area is beginning to receive considerable attention as increasing numbers of women enter the world of work. If career development programs are to help individuals consider the family-career connection as they make both career and family decisions, it is important to clarify these functions. The implications of the family-career connection for mothers, fathers, and children should be considered. Since the family unit is a system, change by one family member will influence other family members. The family unit serves important functions: care and education of children, care of elderly or disabled members, maintenance of the household, economic support, and emotional support for members. As individual family members define the nature of their family-career connection, they must examine and coordinate effective strategies for meeting these three needs.

The Family-Career Connection Model indicates that various social and economic trends influence and create pressures on the family-career connection. Among many current trends is an increased economic need for both mothers and fathers to work that has resulted from recent inflation. At present, many families rely on dual incomes for economic security. In addition to economic reasons, women have moved into the labor market in increasing numbers because of a desire for personal satisfaction. Greater numbers of women are viewing work as an important aspect of their lives and are developing consistent, long-term career patterns. Paralleling the desire of women to work, employment opportunities have opened for women in a variety of career fields. An overriding social change has been the movement from an industrial to an information society that has resulted in a shift of the occupational opportunity structure in this country. This change has meant an increased impetus for

career change for men as well as women, as evidenced by the increasing number of displaced workers who are facing career transition.

In addition to occupational changes, there have been many changes in the nature of the family. As members of the baby boom have reached adulthood, they have defined new ways of negotiating the family-career connection. These include such strategies as delaying marriage, having fewer children, delaying the decision to have children, and developing dual-career relationships with new definitions of responsibilities for household maintenance, child care, and economic support through work. Also, due to increased divorce rates, there are larger numbers of single-parent families and blended families that create unique family-career problems.

The final element in the Family-Career Connection Model includes interventions that can support the family-career connection. Although this paper focuses on career development programs, it is important to note other types of intervention. Social policy related to the family is a major intervention. Kamerman (1980) emphasized the importance of public policy concerns that support the family-career connection. In addition to public policy, there are a variety of community and social support services that influence the family-work connection, such as the availability of quality day care. Employers gradually are recognizing the importance of structuring the workplace in ways that support the family. Such measures as flexible working hours, parental (both maternity and paternity) leave benefits, flexible arrangements that allow individuals to work at home, and child care arrangements are all employee benefits that can support the family-work connection.

Summary

Traditional career development programs have tended to place only limited emphasis on the family-career connection. Too often career planning is viewed as an individual activity, and career decisions tend to be made without an understanding of the interrelationships between the family and work roles of both men and women. This paper clarifies the family-career connection by describing (1) basic concepts related to family and to career development, (2) emerging career roles for women, (3) emerging child care and household roles for men, and (4) the effects of these changes on children. The final chapter reviews existing programs and makes recommendations for strengthening programs.

CONCEPTS FOR UNDERSTANDING THE FAMILY-CAREER CONNECTION

Career development programs are intended to help individuals develop planning skills and apply these skills to career decisions throughout the life span. The outcome of these programs is satisfying and successful career development. Although family roles have always been viewed as a modifying influence on career decisions, the effect of current trends on the family-career connection calls for further clarification of concepts related to both career and family. Traditional sex role definitions are in a state of flux, accentuating the need for individuals to consider family roles during the career planning process. Career development specialists in educational, community, private practice, and business-industry settings need to understand the basic concepts of family and career and to find more effective strategies for helping the individuals they serve to integrate family and career roles in ways that are satisfying both to individuals and to other family members.

The Family

Research on the family provides a number of constructs that are helpful in understanding the family as a social unit and in describing the unique characteristics of specific families. As the Family-Career Connection Model (figure 1) indicates, these family characteristics include family membership, ways in which the family meets the needs of family members, coordination patterns within the family, family life-cycle stages, and linkages between the family and the outside world.

Family Membership

Analyzing the membership of families can aid in understanding emerging patterns of family membership. The traditional family was comprised of two parents, usually with two or more children with the mother at home and the father working outside of the home. The traditional family unit is evidently becoming less prevalent. Masnick and Bane (1980) indicated that the trend is toward a variety of family arrangements including single-parent families and families that are blended through remarriage. They predicted that patterns of family membership will be more diverse, and people will be more apt to spend more years of their lives unattached to nuclear families.

One important trend in family membership is toward smaller families. This trend is the result of lower birthrates and of the tendency for children to leave home earlier than they have in past generations. This reduction in family size, combined with technological advances, has resulted in a decrease in the amount of time required for parenting and household tasks.

Another major trend has been toward more single-parent families. A study by Louis Harris and Associates (Families at Work 1981) indicated that 15 percent of the Nation's families are single-parent families headed by women. Those families headed by women have considerably lower median family incomes ($10,230) when compared to families that are supported by men ($17,740) or to dual-career families ($23,300). It is important to note that, although single-parent families face special stresses, they tend to be temporary arrangements that last only a few years before the parent remarries, although this trend is less prevalent for divorced women who are over age 35.

A third characteristic of family membership is the reduction in geographic proximity of extended family members. More families are living in age-segregated neighborhoods, and increased geographic mobility has resulted in increased distances between segments of extended families. This means that extended family members are not readily available to provide support to the nuclear family. A final trend in family membership is the growing number of blended families resulting from the merger of two smaller, single-parent family units into one large unit through remarriage.

Meeting Needs of Individual Members

Families play an important role in meeting specific needs of the individual family members. These include the need for emotional nurturance of all family members, socialization and education of children, economic support of the family unit, care of elders, protection of all family members, and support for individual family members' growth.

Recent trends in the economy and in the composition of families have placed new pressures on families as they try to find effective ways of continuing to meet these various needs. Economic trends such as inflation and recession have made economic support more difficult to achieve when only one family member is working. This has stimulated the trend toward increased participation of mothers in the labor force. Although more women are participating in meeting the economic needs of the family, to date there has been little increase in the extent to which men participate in meeting other family needs in such areas as child care and household maintenance (Levitan and Belous 1981; Sanik 1981). It is also important to note that, as the number of single-parent families increases, many parents are being confronted with a demand to fulfill all family needs or to find support systems outside the family to help them in meeting these needs.

Coordination Patterns within the Family

As family members attempt to find effective ways of meeting the needs of all members, they develop specific modes for coordinating the family, including defined roles, communication patterns, and norms of family behavior. These organizational patterns are a function of patterns learned from parents in the adults' original families, the evolution of mutually satisfying patterns within the family over time, and patterns that are encouraged by the larger cultural and social milieu.

Sex roles provide a basis for the family behavior of men and women. Parsons and Bales (1955) gave an early description of the traditional sex roles. They suggested that there are dual leadership roles in which the male is the instrumental (task-oriented) leader and the female is the expressive (feeling-oriented) leader.

Recent developments, such as the increasing number of women who are working, are providing challenges to traditional sex role definitions. These changes are creating conflicts between work and family roles and are causing role overload, resulting in scheduling conflicts, fatigue, and irritability for family members (Pleck, Staines, and Lang 1980). In addition to physical and time problems, role overload may be psychologically based, resulting from such factors as conflict with prevailing sex role norms, sex role identity confusion, and role-cycling problems (Rapoport and Rapoport 1969).

The sequencing of work and family roles has received considerable attention. Home and family roles can create simultaneous or sequential demands. Hall (1972) suggested that men have sequential role demands--that is, no family responsibilities until work responsibilities are completed--whereas women tend to have simultaneous role demands. The nature of role demands depends to some extent on the degree of accommodation that family members make to various roles. Bailyn (1978) viewed this as the extent to which family members fit work demands to family requirements. Husbands and wives may be willing to make either high, low, or moderate accommodation of work to family demands. Because of the influence of traditional sex roles, women are more apt to be guided by family needs and men by work needs.

Family Life-Cycle Stages

Recently, the concept of family life cycles has been applied as a framework for understanding families. This scheme was introduced by Glick (1957), who described six distinct points that define family life-cycle stages: marriage, birth of first child, birth of last child, time the first child leaves home, time the last child leaves home, death of first spouse (widowhood), and death of remaining spouse. Waite (1980) suggested that the family life-cycle concept helps to describe differences in families in such areas as consumption patterns, use of time, and labor force participation. Voydanoff (1980) stated that this concept gives a developmental perspective to the family. "The family life cycle consists of several stages, each of which is characterized by specific developmental tasks to be accomplished" (p. 61).

Another family life-cycle scheme, developed by Stolte-Heiskanen (1974), is particularly helpful in relating family development to individual career development. This scheme includes the following stages: (1) establishment--newly married couple without children, (2) new parents--couples or one parent with one or more children under school age, (3) school-aged family--couples or one parent with school-aged children, (4) postparental--couples or one parent after children have left home and/or entered the productive sector, and (5) the aging family--couples or parent after retirement.

Certain stages of the family life cycle carry particularly heavy home and child care role demands for parents, with new parents having the heaviest role demands. The career development process can also be described as a series of developmental stages with varying degrees of role demands at each stage. Family life-cycle and career development theories can be used conjointly to analyze various family-career decisions and to suggest strategies for controlling and/or reducing overlapping career and family role demands.

Linkages between the Family and the World

A final characteristic of families is the way they link to the outside world. These linkages may be to the extended family, to informal networks such as friends and neighbors, to the community, and to the larger world as represented through the relationship with State and Federal governments. These linkages may provide either supports or barriers for families. For example, although the extended family has traditionally been a support, increasing geographical separation of families creates a barrier that must be reduced through the use of other informal networks.

On the larger scene, the community and political units in which the family lives have major influence. In particular, government policies can either support the family or exert additional pressures on it. Family impact analysis is increasingly used in planning legislation to make public policy more supportive of families (Hubbell 1980). Family impact analysis encourages public policymakers to ask the question, "What will this law or policy or practice do to the family?" (p. 2). Hubbell cited the reform of the "anti-grandmother clause" in Federal tax laws as an example of the application of family impact analysis. This reform reversed the clause in the tax laws that had denied the deduction of payment to a family member for child care, which had penalized parents for using their extended family network as a resource to provide child care assistance.

Individual Careers

A career is the total sequence of work experiences in which an individual participates throughout the life span. Hansen (1976) defined career development as

> a continous, life-long . . . process of developmental experiences that focuses on seeking, obtaining, and processing information about self, occupational educational alternatives, life style and role options, and socioeconomic and labor market trends, and engaging in purposeful planning in order to make reasoned decisions about work and its relation to other life roles with benefit to self and society. (p. 39)

Career is an important aspect of human development that needs to be integrated with other aspects of development. A career may reflect continuous employment in one job or frequent job changes. It may reflect continued employment in one occupational area or may be evidenced by one or more occupational change throughout the life span. An individual may begin employment in

young adulthood and work continuously without interruption until retirement, or may delay entry into the labor force or interrupt work at various periods throughout life to accommodate other life roles.

Family members engage in paid work activities to provide economic support for the family. However, individuals' careers fulfill other needs such as the need for self-expression, for contributing to the improvement of society, for prestige, and for satisfying relationships with others. Although it may appear that career decisions are strictly individual decisions, they have major impact on the family and influence the career decisions of other family members.

Several factors are helpful in understanding the area of careers. As figure 1, The Family-Career Connection Model, indicates, these factors include career salience, career development stages, factors that influence career decision making, and the occupational opportunity structure.

Career Salience

Career salience is the importance that individuals assign to career and the extent to which individuals perceive that they have freedom to make career choices. Career salience (Masih 1967) centers around such questions as: To what extent is the individual career motivated? To what extent is the occupation an important source of satisfaction? What priority is given to career compared to other sources of life satisfaction? To what extent does the individual perceive personal freedom in career decision making? Some individuals have a strong sense of the importance of careers in their lives. These individuals exhibit such characteristics as purposeful planning about careers, a commitment to building and continuing their careers, a sense that their careers are progressive and moving toward an ultimate goal, a strong attachment to and interest in their careers, and a strong sense that their careers are important over time.

Harmon and Farmer (1983) suggested that a frequent error that is made when developing career development programs is to overlook the basic question of career salience. They indicated that the nature of choice will be viewed as an important issue only if individuals "believe that their choices are or will be effective (thus self-esteem, locus of control, and attributional concepts are all important) . . . live in an environment in which their choices can be truly effective, and . . . are free from survival needs for food, shelter, and safety" (p. 64). The concept of career salience suggests that the initial career planning questions should relate to the importance of work and the extent to which external environmental conditions present a barrier to choice. As Super (1983) indicated, career counseling must not only help individuals develop effective career planning skills and behaviors but also should help them develop "motivation for a career" (p. 558).

Career Development Stages

Both the family and careers have been viewed developmentally. Several writers (Ginzberg et al. 1951; Miller and Form 1951; Schein 1978; Super 1957) have described career development stages that occur at various periods throughout the life span. Super (1957) postulated five major career development stages: the growth stage (ages 4-14), the exploration stage (ages 15-25), the establishment stage (ages 26-45), the maintenance stage (ages 46-60), and the decline stage (over age 60). The age ranges for those stages are approximate. Individuals vary in their timing of these stages, and these stages tend to be cyclical and overlapping. It is also important to note that as life expectancy increases, more older persons are opting for career change or modification rather than retirement.

Three of the career development stages occur during adulthood: (1) establishment--when the individual enters and progresses with the career, (2) maintenance--when the individual incorporates past gains and maintains the current career level, and (3) decline--when the individual diminishes the level of career activity and plans for other life roles during retirement.

Career development theory relates directly to more general theories of developmental psychology that have been proposed by such authors as Erikson (1950), Havighurst (1952), and Levinson et al. (1978). These developmental schemes provide the additional perspective of indicating developmental tasks at specific stages that relate to various life roles. For example, Havighurst's (1952) early adult stage includes the following developmental tasks: selecting a mate, learning to live with a marriage partner, managing a home, rearing children, beginning in an occupation, taking on civic responsibility, and finding a social group. This lends a broad life-role perspective to the establishment career stage (Super 1957) that occurs during the same age frame and includes the specific occupational tasks of trial, stabilization, and advancement within a career area.

The developmental perspective focuses not only on specific developmental tasks but also on the more global development of self (Erikson 1950; Loevinger 1976). Loevinger has proposed several ego stages that, while developmental, are not strictly age related. The ego stages can help explain the nature of decisions and responses that are made for specific developmental tasks. Harmon and Farmer (1983) suggested that the following four ego stages as described by Loevinger are particularly relevant to vocational behavior:

1. The Self-Protective Stage is characterized by anticipating short-term rewards and punishments as a means of impulse control.

2. The Conformist Stage is characterized by identification with the group and a rather simplistic approach to right and wrong based on group norms.

3. The Conscientious Stage is characterized by long-term, self-evaluated goals and ideals and a sense of responsibility for one's own decisions and actions.

4. The Autonomous Stage is characterized by the ability to recognize and cope with inner conflicts and to integrate complex ideas and roles. (p. 47)

Interpretation of these ego stages suggests that individuals at higher stages, such as the autonomous stage, would have quite different responses to family-career role conflicts than individuals at lower stages, such as the conformist stage.

Factors That Influence Career Decisions

Individuals are confronted with a series of career decisions throughout their lives. Until recently, discussions of career decision making focused most heavily on the decisions related to specifying a career field or occupation. Recent discussions have helped to clarify several types of career decisions that individuals must address on a continuing basis throughout their lives (Nieva and Gutek 1981). First, an individual makes a decision about whether to have a career. For women, this has traditionally been a decision focusing on whether to continue to work after getting married and having a family. For men, this has most often been a decision about whether to consider work important only for economic gain, or whether to view work as an opportunity for the achievement of important life goals.

After the decision about the importance of career has been made, the next decision is to select a general career orientation. This orientation may be based on the nature of work itself, including field (medical, business, social service, and so forth) and level (professional, managerial, skilled, and so forth). However, career orientation is often chosen in light of other life role responsibilities. For example, decisions to work only part-time, to accept work that does not require travel or overtime, or to give work the primary emphasis in life are all career decisions based on other life-role responsibilities. The final career decision area focuses on when to work. Several patterns are possible, including postponing entry into work in young adulthood, working until children are born and then stopping, interrupting work periodically throughout the lifetime to attend to family role responsibilities, or entering work in young adulthood and continuing uninterrupted until retirement.

A variety of factors influence these three basic career decisions. Career development theory throughout its history has continued to expand the description of these variables. Super (1980) has provided a graphic presentation (figure 2) of these various factors that centers around four important components related to career decisions: (1) personal determinants, such as interests, aptitudes, and values; (2) situational determinants, such as labor market conditions, family background, and social structure; (3) life stages; and (4) life roles, such as parent, homemaker, and worker. This overview helps to clarify the specific factors, the total context of career decision making, and the dynamic nature of the career development process that results from the continuous changes that occur in the individual, in the environment, in the importance and demands of life roles, and in various life stages.

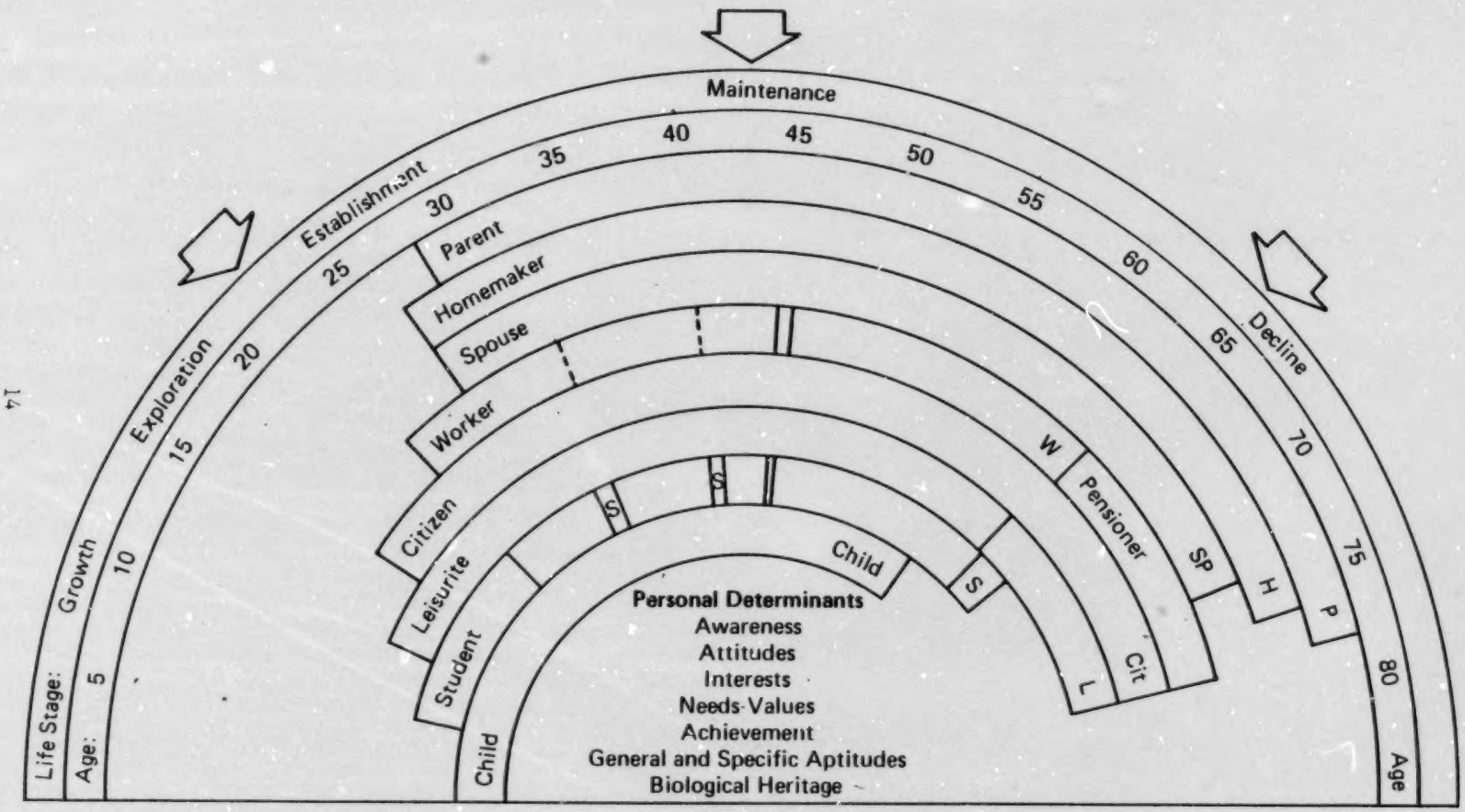

Figure 2. The life-career rainbow: nine roles in schematic life space
Source: Super, D. E. "A Life-Span Life-Space Approach to Career Development." Journal of Vocational Behavior 16 (June 1980): 282-296.
(Reprinted by permission.)

Occupational Opportunity Structure

The occupational opportunity structure is also important to career development. The implementation of individual career plans is influenced by the nature of this opportunity structure. Differences in opportunity for men and women are one characteristic of the opportunity structure. This includes the extent to which jobs are equally available to both men and women, the extent to which occupations are stereotyped as being either traditional or nontraditional for men or women, and the extent to which there is income equity for men and women. These conditions have traditionally been barriers to the career development of women. The Bureau of Labor Statistics (1983) reported that although there is an increasing trend toward finding women employed in every major industrial group, women are still concentrated in the service-producing sector of the economy. "Women remain concentrated in the traditionally female occupational fields with 99 percent of secretaries, 96 percent of nurses, and 82 percent of elementary school teachers being women in 1982" (p. 10). Wage equity is still not a reality since most women work in the lowest-paying businesses and industries.

Fluctuations in the labor market also affect the opportunity structure. Unemployment, underemployment, or job displacement can result from economic recession and shifts in labor demand created by the emergence of new technology. These fluctuations in the labor market influence individual career decisions and for many create a need for career change during the adult years.

Another aspect of the opportunity structure is the benefits and work arrangements that are available in the workplace. Benefits such as maternity or paternity leave and work arrangements such as flexible work time can support the integration of family and work roles. Their absence can act as barriers to employment because of the conflict between family and work roles.

Summary

This section has provided a description of concepts that are helpful in understanding the nature of families and of individual careers. The discussion of the family has focused on major factors such as family membership, methods of meeting the needs of family members, coordination patterns within the family, family life-cycle stages, and linkages between the family and the world. The discussion of careers focused on several concepts including career salience, career development stages, factors that influence career decisions, and the occupational opportunity structure.

This overview of career and family concepts provides a framework for examining the family-career connection. Although women have traditionally considered child care and homemaking roles more strongly and men have focused on work roles, changes in the family are altering these emphases. Increasingly, men and women are required to focus on both career and family roles, and family members must consider the needs of the total family system when making life-role decisions. The next section clarifies this interrelationship of career and family for mothers, fathers, and children.

THE FAMILY-CAREER CONNECTION: MOTHERS, FATHERS, AND CHILDREN

The previous section discussed the family and career concepts that provide a framework for understanding the family-career connection. It is also helpful to explore the nature of the family-career connection for mothers, fathers, and children. As a result of such trends as increased participation of women in the world of work, the increased number of single-parent families, changes in the criteria for making child custody decisions, and the increased number of children who live in families where both parents work, there is a growing body of research that looks at specific dimensions of the family-career connection. This section provides a review of recent research that clarifies (1) the career development of women, (2) the child care and homemaking roles of men, and (3) the effects of parental employment on children.

Women and Their Work Roles

Current statistics indicate that larger numbers of women are participating in the labor market. At present, one of every two married couples is a dual-career couple with both husband and wife working (Hayghe 1982). Grossman (1982) reported that since 1970 the number of children with working mothers has grown by 6.2 million despite a decline of 6.6 million in the children's population. According to Grossman, 31.8 million mothers with children aged 18 or below and 8.6 million with children below age 6 are working outside the home. Of the 32 million women who were full-time homemakers in 1982, 6 out of 19 were aged 45 or older (Bureau of Labor Statistics 1982).

An increasing number of women workers are heads of households. In 1982, one of every six families was maintained by a woman. Of the 3.4 million families that were maintained by women in 1981, 1 of every 3 was in poverty as compared with 1 out of 16 married-couple families (Bureau of Labor Statistics 1983). One major impetus for women entering the world of work is thus financial necessity.

Career Salience for Women

How important is work to women? In a study conducted for General Mills by Louis Harris and Associates (Families at Work 1981), 90 percent of men and 87 percent of women said that work gives them a personal sense of accomplishment. Asked if they would continue to work if it were not an economic necessity, 40 percent of all women and 58 percent of women who are currently working indicated that they would prefer work to homemaking. In a follow-up study of women 6 years after college entry, Harmon (1980) found that in 1972, 46 percent (compared to 27 percent in 1968) wanted to work most of their lives. In the same study, only 2 percent (compared to 16 percent in 1968) of the women

indicated that they wanted minimal employment. Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) summarized this trend by indicating that "it is clear that most women will work outside the home at some time in their adult lives and that work will play an increasingly important role in their lives" (p. 85).

Masnick and Bane (1980) noted that the importance of work for women can be measured both by participation and by attachment. "Attachment is measured by the extent to which a woman's involvement in work is substantial and permanent" (p. 63). Trends indicate that women's attachment to work is increasing, particularly for the younger generation born after 1940. Several writers have noted that the importance of work for women is balanced in light of the wife and mother role. Nieva and Gutek (1981) suggested that "the areas of work and family life are not independent of each other, particularly for women" (p. 98). Women seem to work both for economic reasons and for personal satisfaction. However, the importance of work for women is tempered by the interdependence of work and family roles.

The Career Development of Women

Only recently has major attention been focused on the study of the career development of women. Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) suggested that lack of previous research was due to the influence of traditional sex roles that emphasized the roles of wife and mother for women and to the assumption that research on the career development of men could be applied to women. Recent research provides a clearer understanding of women's career development.

The traditional "good provider" sex role for men has created a pressure for men to be committed to career and to participate in work on an ongoing basis throughout their adult lives. Career orientation can be viewed as the nature of the individual's involvement in work and the degree (percentage of time and number of years) that he or she participates in work (Fitzgerald and Betz 1983). Traditionally, women have not evidenced the same high degree of career orientation as men.

There has been a steady increase in the degree of career orientation of women. In the 1960s, Matthews and Tiedeman (1964) found that the majority of young women did not intend to work outside the home. In contrast, research conducted in the 1970s and current labor market statistics indicate that many women plan to combine family and career. This trend is strong enough for Rand and Miller (1972) to have suggested that the traditional female sex role has shifted to stress the importance of combining career and family.

As described in the previous section of this paper, career development and family development can be viewed from the developmental stage perspective. Because men and women differ in their level of career orientation and because the career development of women is more apt to be influenced by the developmental needs of their family, career patterns of women tend to differ from those of men. Super (1957) introduced the concept of career pattern as a means of describing an individual's career development and suggested seven possible career patterns for women: (1) stable homemaking (no significant work experience), (2) conventional (work outside the home only until

marriage), (3) stable working (work continuously with no interruption), (4) double-track (perform work and family roles continuously), (5) interrupted (return to work later in life), (6) unstable (irregular cycle of home versus work), and (7) multiple-trial (unstable job history). Vetter and Stockburger (1977) studied Super's patterns for a National sample of black and white women and also proposed a new career pattern system that considered the percentage of time worked between three milestones--leaving school, marriage, and birth of first child.

Zytowski (1969) formulated three dimensions to describe women's career patterns. Two that are related to career orientation include age of entry and span of participation in years. The third is related to traditional versus nontraditional career fields and is called degree of participation. From these three dimensions, he hypothesized three career patterns for women: the "mild pattern" (early or late entry, limited span of participation, traditional career area), the "moderate pattern" (early entry, lengthy span, traditional career area), and the "unusual pattern" (early entry, lengthy span, and nontraditional career area). Wolfson (1976) tested Zytowski's patterns and found 5--Zytowski's original 3 and 2 additional patterns of women who have "never worked" and "high moderate" women who had worked more than 18 years in a traditional area.

A final career development scheme for women was presented by Harmon (1967) with five categories, including women who (1) had no job experience, (2) had work experience only until marriage or birth of first child, (3) combined work with marriage and children, (4) reentered the labor force when children were older, and (5) remained single and pursued a career.

Women's career development patterns reflect attempts to cope with the dual role demands of work and family. Voydanoff (1980) has compared the family and the career development cycles. She suggested that the "new parent stage" in the family life cycle corresponds with the "establishment stage" of career development. Both of these stages have high demands for time and for emotional investment. The "school-age children stage" of the family life cycle corresponds with the maintenance stage of career development. During this time, parenting needs are still strong but somewhat less demanding, and career is becoming less demanding than in the previous stage. The "postparental stage" of the family life cycle corresponds with the "decline stage" of the career development cycle. Both of these stages have lower demands than the previous stages.

This joint analysis of family and career development stages indicates that in some stages of both it is particularly demanding to combine career and family roles. Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) clarified two problems that can result from combining family and work roles--role conflict and role overload. Gray (1980) suggested that the family-career role conflict for women results from lack of support or disapproval of significant others; the perception of career achievement, particularly in nontraditional fields, as not feminine (fear of success); and conflict and guilt associated with combining the mother and worker roles.

Role overload results from problems in allocating limited time to meet the dual demands of work and family. Voydanoff (1980) suggested that such role conflicts can be dealt with either simultaneously or sequentially. In the sequential approach the individual alternates participation in work and family over the life cycle, thus staggering periods of high demand for family and career. In the simultaneous approach, the individual opts to perform work and family roles simultaneously over the life span.

The sequential approach can involve adjusting career to family or adjusting family to career. When women adjust career to family, they tend to enter and leave the world of work depending on the demands of the family. This pattern usually results in low career commitment and aspirations, and women who follow this pattern tend to take jobs that are compatible with family responsibilities. The pattern of adjusting family to career usually entails delaying the decision to have children until the career can be established. More young families are selecting this strategy as evidenced by the increasing trend to postpone marriage, to postpone the birth of the first child, and to decide against having children.

In the simultaneous approach, women pursue both family and career roles, thus creating role overload. At present, there is little evidence that men spend more time on household and child care tasks when their wives are working. Pleck (1979) indicated that "men's family time baseline (1.6 hours per day) is very low and is only one-third of the working wives' time (3.96 hours per day)." There is some evidence that husbands and children tend to help out with family and homemaking tasks, but women tend to maintain primary responsibility in this area.

Hall (1972) proposed three basic ways that women can deal with role overload. The first is "structural role redefinition" in which roles are more equitably distributed among family members; the second is "personal role definition" in which the woman changes her own behaviors and expectations without changing those of others; and the third is "reactive role behaviors" in which the woman attempts to meet all role demands. Although structural role redefinition is the most effective, it is less commonly used because it involves changing the attitudes and behaviors of the entire family and because many women hesitate to endorse this solution.

Influences on Women's Career Decisions

Career decision making includes three major issues: whether to have a career, which career area to enter, and when to work. As mentioned previously, other life-role expectations traditionally have exerted unique influences on women's career decisions. Specific dimensions of women's career decision making include the limited effectiveness of personal variables (interests, aptitudes, career maturity) in explaining women's career choices, delayed career decision making, and lack of power of early career plans as predictors of future career patterns.

Harmon (1970) suggested there is evidence that women tended to make career decisions later in life and that early career plans did not necessarily

indicate the future pattern of a woman's career. She specifically found that women's careers could not be predicted from their expressed career choices at age 18.

Fitzgerald and Betz (1983) indicated that intelligence and aptitudes seem to influence the career versus home orientation of women, but do not relate as consistently to the occupational and educational attainments of women as they do for men. They also reported that women's interests frequently tend toward those endorsed by the traditional female sex role definition. Although women who do develop scientific and technical interests tend to choose nontraditional career areas, the number of such women is still limited. Fitzgerald and Crites (1980) reported that, while women score higher on career maturity than men, they do not make earlier and more realistic career decisions than males, as might be predicted. If traditional career decision-making factors are less powerful in explaining women's career decisions, what variables seem to intervene to modify this process?

A first major influence on women's career choice is occupational stereotyping or normative views about the appropriateness of occupations for men and women. These stereotypes have been found to be accepted not only by the adult population (Albrecht, Bahr, and Chadwick 1977) but also by children at a young age (Gettys and Cann 1981). These stereotypes are promoted through many social mechanisms including the family, the school, and the media. Stereotypes act to limit and define the range of occupational options considered by women in career decision making. The exact nature of their influence depends on such factors as the strength of family members' stereotypes, age of the woman, and the influence of specific interventions to reduce stereotyping.

Another factor is the tendency for women's career choices to be more heavily influenced by the opinions of others than are men's choices. Women's traditional sex roles encourage dependence, particularly during the young adult years, as they define women's involvement in household and child rearing tasks and in the support of their husbands' career development. During the same period, men's traditional sex roles grant men permission to focus extensively on their career establishment. Barnett (1971) found evidence of this influence of others on women's career choices. She described three groups of women, including "internalizers" who set their own career goals, "identifiers" who set their career goals based on the influence of others in their immediate environment, and "compliers" who had no clear career goals and tended to select options that were available at the last minute. Of these three groups, only the "internalizers" had career patterns similar to men.

The influence of role models is also important to career development. Parents provide early career role models. Several studies have examined the influences of mothers' employment on their daughters' career development. Huth (1978) and Almquist and Angrist (1971) found that daughters of working mothers have higher career orientation than daughters of homemakers. This influence is tempered by the mother's satisfaction with her role (Baruch 1972). Homemaker mothers who are dissatisfied with their roles influence their daughters toward higher career orientation. Likewise, daughters of working mothers who experience work-family role conflicts have uncertain attitudes about their own careers. Parental expectations for their daughters'

occupational and educational attainment have also been related to career orientation and involvement in nontraditional careers (O'Donnell and Andersen 1978). Low parental expectations related to the traditional sex role, including the age at which daughters marry and have children, have been found to increase the career orientation of daughters (Haber 1980).

Occupational role models or mentors have also been stressed as an important influence on career development. In most cases, men report that other men are their occupational role models. Women are more likely to report both male and female role models (Weishaar, Green, and Craighead 1981). Handley and Hickson (1978) found that within the occupational field of mathematics, women who had female role models chose traditional occupations such as secondary school teacher, while women who had male role models chose nontraditional fields such as engineering. Tidball (1980) found that colleges employing more female faculty members had more high-achieving female students. Role models are important influences on career development. Because of the lack of female role models across all occupational and educational settings, women may either lack role models or select men as models.

Since women's career development tends to be different from men's, much of the research has focused on identifying characteristics of women who have a strong career orientation and who tend to select nontraditional career areas. Although these women have been considered atypical in the past, they may become more prevalent as increasing numbers of women show greater participation and attachment to work. The following characteristics emerge in the reviews of research on career-oriented women (Fitzgerald and Betz 1983; Nieva and Gutek 1981):

- They tend to have more positive self-concepts and higher levels of self-esteem.
- They possess a set of typically male-associated characteristics called instrumental characteristics. These include competency, self-directedness, assertiveness, independence, and self-sufficiency.
- Although they have instrumental characteristics, they do not reject feminine characteristics. Rather, they are more androgynous than homemakers who tend to accept feminine but reject masculine characteristics.
- They have been influenced by role models who set high expectations for educational and occupational attainment and provide examples of successful female career orientation.
- They tend to modify family roles (marriage decision, age at the time of marriage, number of children, and age at birth of children) to accommodate their career development.
- They have pursued higher levels of education and have been supported by educational environments that include female role models.
- They tend to have a higher need for achievement than for affiliation.

Men and Their Family Roles

The career development of women has been a neglected area of research; research on men in family roles has similarly been neglected. The reason for this has been the emphasis on the traditional sex role of men as the economic provider for the family. This definition has directed most of the research toward the career development of men rather than toward their family roles. Biller and Meredith (1975) concluded that less than 10 percent of parenting studies have taken the father's role into account.

When examining the relationship of career and family, it is important to note that changes in sex roles are interrelated. As women are placing increased emphasis on their work roles, men's roles in the areas of parenting and homemaking are being influenced. As Lamb (1983) states:

> To the extent that maternal and female employment was of value to women, their families, and society at large, therefore, changing male roles--particularly changes that involved increased male participation in home and child care--were viewed as desirable from the perspectives of both women and society. (p. 4)

Recently, there has developed an increased interest in conducting research to better understand men's family roles. This research begins to give a conceptual basis for looking at men's involvement in these roles. Pleck and Lang (1978) provided a framework for studying the family roles of men. They suggested that too often research has focused solely on the degree of participation by men in these roles. They proposed that three aspects of men's family role be studied: performance, level of psychological involvement, and the degree of adjustment (satisfaction) with family roles.

This section reviews the research related to men's family roles, including (1) an examination of the traditional male sex role, (2) the degree of participation by fathers in family roles, (3) fathers' psychological involvement in and satisfaction with family roles, (4) fathers' competence as parents, and (5) the effects of family role involvement on fathers.

The Traditional Male Sex Role

Men as well as women have been influenced by traditional sex roles. Several writers (Bernard 1981; Lamb 1983; Parsons and Bales 1955; and Pleck 1977) have described the economic provider role as the traditional sex role for men. Bernard (1981) suggested that this male sex role existed even before the industrial revolution. Her argument is that traditional sex roles existed in the agrarian family but, with the onset of the industrial revolution, the setting in which the man implemented his economic provider role moved away from the home to the work site.

The major emphasis of this role, which Bernard called the "good provider" role, is on high performance and on doing well in the world of work. Extremes in the ways men approach this role range from men who reject it by deserting their families to men who become workaholics, thus reducing their participation in family roles.

Lamb (1983) argued that this traditional role can have negative effects for men. It has been the legal basis for child custody decisions. The mother has been viewed as the "tender provider" who is the most important to the child's development. Therefore, custody of children has seldom been given to fathers. Only recently has the legal test of "best interests of the child" begun to be used by the courts. Lamb further suggested that the premise that the male sex role is primarily economic has reduced men's role as a socializing agent for their children and as an emotional support for their wives and children.

Social policy has been based on the premise that women and children are entitled to support by men and, when men fail in this role, the State steps in to perform the function. This policy often results in reinforcing the use of the "good provider" role as a basis for the self-worth of men and can result in separating men from their families when they are unable to perform this role (Lamb 1983).

Pleck (1977) has done extensive research on men's sex roles in the areas of family and work. He argued that the family, not the individual, is the basic economic unit. Since men traditionally have provided the economic support for the family, they have been granted certain privileges within the family. He suggested that the family is not controlled by the man but by his job. Because of this traditional sex role, the career success of men has provided the major basis for proving their masculinity to themselves, their families, and the world. Thus, men's identities are strongly tied to work, and the establishment of career is of prime importance to them.

Participation of Men in Family Roles

Much of the research focuses on the degree of involvement of men in both parenting and homemaking roles. Several areas of men's involvement in family roles have been studied. Radin (1978) proposed a taxonomy for looking at the father's involvement in child rearing that includes the father's participation in child-rearing tasks, his responsibility for physical care, his responsibility for socialization, his involvement in decision making related to the child, and his availability for child-rearing involvement. Researchers have also separated the two family roles of child care and homemaking to analyze the amount of time that men spend in family roles. Finally, research has focused on differences in paternal involvement in family roles for traditional families where the mother does not work outside the home versus dual-career families.

Several studies have been done on the amount of time that men spend in household and child-rearing activities. The results of these studies show a range of fathers' time in child-rearing tasks from 1.7 to 2.8 hours per week (Pleck and Rustad 1980; Robinson 1977; Russell 1979; and Walker and Woods 1976). Robinson (1977) found that men spent a total of 11.2 hours per week on household work as compared to 53.2 hours for wives who worked outside the home. He also found that the nature of work done by men and women varied, with men doing irregularly performed household work and travel related to children and shopping and women performing more regular, household work.

Although fathers spend a lesser amount of time in child care tasks, they have been found to spend a greater amount of time in play activities with their children. Both Kotelchuck (1976) and Russell (1979) found that men spend an average of 9 hours per week playing with their children. This time was still lower than the amount of time that mothers spend, which ranges from 14 to 20 hours per week.

This research indicates that men spend only about one-third as much time per week on family activities as working wives do and an even smaller proportion of time when compared with nonworking wives. It is interesting to note that, even when wives are working, men do not increase measurably the amount of time that they spend in the family role. Pleck and Lang (1978) did find a small but significant increase in the time spent on family activities by men with working wives. This may indicate a recent trend for men to increase slightly their time in family roles as women increase their time spent in paid work.

In addition to participation in family roles, it is interesting to look at the extent to which husbands and wives assume responsibility for both child care and homemaking tasks. Geerken and Gove (1983) indicated that there is little change in the extent to which the wife assumes responsibility for household tasks when she works. Husbands and children may increase slightly their helping behavior but do not tend to take responsibility. Kotelchuck (1976) found that less than 8 percent of fathers shared child care responsibilities equally with their wives, and 75 percent of the fathers did not take any responsibility for the day-to-day care of their children.

In a study by Russell (1982), both mothers and fathers in 90 percent of the families responded that the major responsibility for child care rested with the mother. Responsibility was defined as periods of time when the father was at home with his child and the mother was away from home. Using this definition, fathers indicated that they spent an average of only 1 hour per week taking sole responsibility for child care, while nonworking mothers reported averaging 40 hours per week. Sixty percent of the fathers had never taken sole responsibility for care of their children.

Father's Psychological Involvement and Satisfaction with Family Roles

Although most men have little involvement in and limited responsibility for child care and homemaking roles, it is important to examine the extent to which they are psychologically involved in and derive satisfaction from family roles. It has been assumed that career has greater salience to men than family roles, but research indicates that this is not true. Pleck and Lang (1978) studied men's psychological involvement in the family. In this study, men indicated that while at work, they were more apt to think about family than things they were doing at work; that the most important things that had happened to them were related to family life rather than work; and that, if they had fewer hours to work, they would spend the extra time either with family or equally divided between family and leisure.

In this 1978 study, Pleck and Lang also studied adjustment, or the extent to which men actually receive satisfaction and happiness from their family roles. Using three measures of adjustment--marital happiness, marital satisfaction, and family life satisfaction--they compared men's satisfaction with family and work. Three percent reported that marriage was less satisfying than work, 52 percent reported marriage and work as being equally satisfying, and 45 percent reported marriage as being more satisfying than work. When reporting satisfaction with family, 4 percent reported that family was less satisfying than work, 53 percent reported that family and work were equally satisfying, and 43 percent reported that family was more satisfying than work. These results parallel those found by Campbell, Converse, and Rodgers (1976) in their study of the importance of various factors on the quality of life. In this study, both men and women rated marriage and family as being more satisfying than work.

Fathers' Competence as Parents

Because of traditional sex role definitions, it has been assumed that mothers have those personality characteristics that are needed for child care and parenting, whereas fathers do not. Mothers' sex-role-prescribed characteristics have included compassion, gentleness, loyalty, and love of children. In contrast, the prescribed characteristics of men are assertiveness, athletic ability, competitiveness, dominance, self-reliance, and ambition (Gingles 1982).

Parke and Sawin (1981) suggested that these sex-role-prescribed characteristics have led to the following myths about fathers: (1) fathers are uninterested in and uninvolved with children, (2) they prefer noncaretaking roles, (3) they are less nurturant toward infants and mothers, and (4) they are less-competent caregivers than mothers. Research does not support these myths.

Thompson (1983) reviewed recent research on the quality of fathers' parenting and concluded that

> fathers are competent and responsive caretakers, whether competence is appraised in terms of the occurrence of certain caretaking behaviors or their responsiveness to infant cues. (p. 67)

Parke and Sawin (1981) studied father-infant interactions and found that fathers show appropriate parenting behavior when holding newborn infants and respond to infant cues with appropriate parenting behaviors. Ten-minute samples of father behavior with newborn infants indicated fathers were active and competent caretakers and compared favorably to similar observations of the interactions of mothers and newborn infants.

Another approach to studying fathers' parenting skills has been to observe children's reactions to their fathers. Several researchers, including Kotelchuck (1976), Lamb (1977), and Ainsworth et al. (1978), focused on the degree and nature of children's attachments to their mothers and fathers. These studies show that children are strongly attached to both mother and father at early ages. When an unfamiliar visitor was in the room, children preferred

both parents to the visitor, and there was no evidence of a preference for one parent over the other (Lamb 1977). Other research has shown that children tend to attach to one parent or the other depending on the situation. Thompson (1983) has suggested that research on children's preference for parents in specific situations indicates that fathers are more apt to be sought by children as play partners and mothers are more apt to be sought by children when the latter are fatigued, alarmed, and stressed.

Some research indicates that there are sex differences in father-child interactions. Belsky (1979) found that fathers spend more time and display more affection toward male children and that boys are more apt to move toward and to vocalize with their fathers. As Thompson (1983) suggested, "Findings indicate that male infants receive increased attention from their fathers from a young age and respond preferentially to them in a reliable manner by the end of the second year" (p. 67).

Another group of studies has focused on studying the parenting behavior of fathers who have primary responsibility for child care. Field (1978) found that caretaker fathers resembled other fathers because they played with and poked their children more, but resembled mothers in their use of smiling, facial expressions, and vocalizing to children. Lamb et al. (1982) found that gender was a more significant determinant of fathers' parenting behavior than their primary caretaking role. This means that fathers with a primary caretaking role behaved more like other fathers in their interactions with children than they behaved like mothers with primary caretaking responsibilities.

Research is now being conducted on dual-career families to determine the nature of mother and father parenting behaviors. Pedersen et al. (1982) have completed a study of parenting behaviors of dual-career mothers and fathers with their children during the early evening hours. Their findings indicate that during this time interval, mothers in dual-career families played more with their infants and were more involved in caretaking tasks than mothers in traditional families. Fathers in this sample showed a lower amount of interaction with their children during the interval than fathers in traditional families. These findings suggest that working mothers increase and intensify their parenting behaviors during the hours they are with their children, while fathers use lower levels of interaction with their children during these hours.

Effects of Family Role Involvement on Fathers

Several studies (Bem and Lenney 1976; Gronseth 1978) have examined the extent to which men view parenting as consistent with male sex roles. These studies indicate that men who have high participation in parenting are less likely to have self-concepts that are rigidly tied to traditional notions of masculinity, and more likely to view their involvement in parenting as consistent with their identity as males. Pleck (1981) indicated that a majority of fathers have a greater commitment to family and desire more satisfaction from family than from paid work, indicating that the majority of men would receive benefits from increased participation in parenting. This view is supported by the research of Gronseth (1978), Lein (1979), and Russell

(1982), who all reported that fathers who participate in child care feel an enhanced sense of self-esteem, greater self-confidence, and increased satisfaction.

Fathers who participate in child care have also reported changes in the quality of their relationship with their children. Hood and Golden (1979), Kelley (1981), and Russell (1982) all found that fathers developed closer relationships with their children and felt more positive about the father role as a result of greater participation in child care. Fathers also reported that they established more open communication with their children, got to know their children better, and increased their enjoyment of being with their children. In a study by Gronseth (1978), fathers reported that they came to understand their children better through increased participation in child care, particularly when they spent time alone with children in child care activities. A somewhat negative effect was found (Kelley 1981) when fathers reported increased conflicts with their children, but the fathers felt that this resulted from the development of a more realistic view of their children through increased contact.

Children and the Family-Career Connection

The changing nature of the family-career connection influences the lives of children. Several writers have related changing patterns of the family to the essential conditions for child development. Bronfenbrenner (1981) suggested that two basic conditions must be met to support human beings from early childhood. First, "in order to develop normally, a child needs the enduring, irrational involvement of one or more adults in care of the child" (p. 38). He suggested that this means "somebody has to be crazy about the kid." Second, he proposed that "the involvement of one or more adults in the care of the child requires public policies and practices which provide opportunity, status, resources, encouragement, example . . . and time for parenthood" (p. 38). As family-career roles change, provisions need to be made to support these two necessary conditions of someone caring about children and having the time to demonstrate this caring.

Etzioni (1983) made a similar argument about the importance of the family. He stated, "If the family does not lay the needed psychic foundation, schools become overloaded and less able to do their job, and they, in turn, overload the institutions of work and public safety" (p. 20). He suggested that, while basic parenting does not require a mother at home, it does require that one or both parents be involved in active parenthood with sufficient time, psychic energy, and commitment for effective parenting.

The Effects of Parental Employment on Children

Much of the research that has been conducted on the impact of changes in the family-career connection has focused on the effects of maternal employment. Within this research, there have been two divergent viewpoints. One argues against maternal employment by stressing (1) the importance of infant and early childhood attachment with the mother, (2) the significance of having

a consistent and principal caretaker, and (3) the critical nature of the first 5 years of life (Smith 1981). Another viewpoint argues that research should not focus solely on the influence of maternal employment. This argument suggests that the "motherhood mandate" has increased bias and that research on the effects of work on children should be viewed from the perspective of the involvement of both parents in the parenting process.

The research on the effects of maternal employment on children has focused on such variables as personal development and adjustment, attitudes, school achievement, intelligence, independence, and tendency toward juvenile delinquency. At the preschool level Ramey and Smith (1977) found that day care programs can help prevent a decline in the intellectual functioning of children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. Smith (1981) summarized research as showing that maternal employment has a more negative effect for boys than for girls in the areas of attachment formation, intellectual development, and social-emotional adjustment.

For school-aged children, Etaugh (1974) found that maternal employment was negatively related to achievement for boys, but either unrelated or positively related for girls. Research has consistently shown that daughters' career aspirations and willingness to consider nontraditional career areas are positively related to maternal employment (Almquist and Angrist 1971; Baruch 1972).

Kamerman and Hayes (1982) summarized the effects of parental employment on children as follows:

> There is no compelling evidence to suggest that mothers' or fathers' labor force participation has only good or only bad consequences for all children in all social, economic, and cultural circumstances. (p. 312)

Based on a comprehensive review of research, they drew several conclusions. A first problem has been to assume that all work situations are the same. The effect of parents' employment on children is influenced by the nature of the work situation and the meaning that work has for the parents. Although specific effects are not clear, there is evidence that parents' employment increases family income but decreases the amount of available family time. There is evidence that families are developing their own personal adaptations to changing work patterns, and some of these adaptations are more successful than others. There is also evidence that changes are occurring in the workplace, the community, and the schools to support the family-career connection. Finally, future research needs to focus on a wider range of effects of parent employment on children. To date, most research has focused on cognitive and achievement variables. Other areas, such as social, emotional, and behavioral outcomes, need to be explored.

Arrangements to Support the Needs of Children

Smith (1981) outlined four levels of analysis for studying maternal employment: the individual level, the family level, the community level, and the macrosystem, policy level. These levels also suggest various strategies

for supporting the needs of children as the number of dual-career couples and single-parent families increases. At the personal level, both parents need support in defining family and work roles and in reducing personal conflicts surrounding these roles. Within the family system, reallocation of roles and sequencing of family and career stages can help meet the needs of children.

Within the community various support services can be provided. A growing trend is for employers to be concerned with providing work arrangements and employee benefits that support the family-career connection. Catalyst's (1981) Career and Family Center conducted a survey of 375 corporations in the United States to identify their attitudes toward and use of work arrangements and employee benefits that support the parenting function. These arrangements included flexible working hours, maternity benefits, paternity benefits, adoption benefits, flexible work location, sick leave for children's illness, leave without pay and position assured, on-site child care, subsidies for child care, monetary support of community-based child care facilities, and the use of the "cafeteria" approach to employee benefits. Maternity benefits (96 percent) were the only practice extensively used by companies. Other benefits that were used by a smaller percentage of the companies were flexible working hours (37 percent), sick leave for children's illnesses (29 percent), and leave without pay with position assured (65 percent). Employees expressed very positive to moderately positive attitudes toward other benefits, including adoption benefits, flexible workplaces, monetary support for community-based child care facilities, and use of the "cafeteria" approach to employee benefits.

At the macrosystem level, public policy can support families in the family-career connection. Family impact analysis (Hubbell 1980) has been proposed as a framework for analyzing the impact of legislation on families. Other countries have adopted public policies that provide family support for working parents. Kamerman (1980) reviewed these arrangements in six countries: France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, Sweden, and the United States. Maternity or paternity leave to care for young children, usually up until age 6, was a first benefit. These are government-supported leaves with cash benefits through the social security system. Hungary had the most liberal benefits, providing a 40-percent-of-salary cash benefit to mothers who stayed at home until their children reached age 3. Although the average paid benefits were for 6 months, employers in most of these countries offered additional, job-protected nonpaid leave while children were between the ages of 6 months and 2 years.

Another trend was the availability of free public preschool programs in most of these countries. Many of these countries also had after school child care arrangements for school-age children. For example, Sweden uses leisure-time centers where children can go until parents finish work. Employers in these countries have also implemented work arrangements that support the family-career connection, including flexitime, job sharing, and sick leave to parents when children are ill. Kamerman (1980) commented that these public policies address four major concerns: the need to provide financial assistance for child rearing, provision for care of children while parents are at work, support of an equitable sharing of home and family tasks by men and

women, and creation of a better balance between work and home so that parents can fulfill parental roles without suffering labor market penalties.

Summary

This section has reviewed research on the nature of the family-career connection for mothers, fathers, and children. The discussion focused on non-traditional roles for men and women since these areas provide the greatest insight for dealing with current stresses and changes within the family-career connection. The discussion of mothers in their career roles focused on career salience for women, women's career development patterns, and factors that influence women's career decisions. The overview of men in family roles included a description of the traditional male sex role, level of men's participation in family roles, fathers' psychological involvement in and satisfaction with family roles, fathers' competence as parents, and the effects family role involvement has on fathers. The importance of children in the family-career connection was stressed. Their developmental and economic needs must be met and are a major consideration as parents define family and career roles. The discussion on children focused on the effects of maternal employment on children and on arrangements to support the needs of children.

This review of the family-career connection suggests that women's career development is influenced by family roles. Many women are developing a strong career orientation, are modifying the sequencing of family decisions, and are involving other family members in child care and home maintenance tasks to ameliorate the effects of career and family. The trend toward greater involvement of fathers in child care and family roles is less dramatic. There is evidence that fathers are participating slightly more in family roles and that they consistently indicate that family is as important or more important than career as a source of life satisfaction. The effects of maternal employment on children are mixed, and community, employer, and public policy support mechanisms are being developed to support the family as it meets children's needs. The final section of this paper will focus on the implications of this information about career and the family for improving career development programs and practice.

STRENGTHENING THE FAMILY-CAREER CONNECTION THROUGH CAREER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMS

The review of the literature indicates that the family-career connection is becoming increasingly important as more women are entering the labor force; that both family and career can be viewed from a developmental perspective to help identify periods of heavy role demands on individual family members; that both men and women can derive satisfaction from combining participation in career and family roles; and that both men and women, because of the influence of traditional sex roles, need information and support to feel comfortable with nontraditional career and family roles. While traditional career development programs have recognized the influence of family on career planning, few programs have helped individuals systematically reconcile career and family roles or helped families as a unit analyze the influences of individual careers on the family. This section will suggest a series of program goals that can strengthen the consideration of both family and career in career development programs and suggest possible program strategies for implementing these new career development program goals.

Family-Career-related Goals for Career Development Programs

The following goals can provide a basis for strengthening the family-career connection in career development programs:

- o Increase awareness of current demographic information describing changes in the family-career connection
- o Increase understanding of developmental stages for both individual career development and for family development
- o Identify overlapping family-career-developmental stages that carry particularly heavy role demands for individual family members
- o Provide strategies for dealing with or reducing the probability of family-career role conflicts that involve accommodation by all family members including both men and women
- o Identify barriers to the family-career connection and develop an awareness of individual, family, employer, and community strategies that can reduce these barriers
- o Identify benefits for both men and women that can result from the successful combination of family-career roles

Goal 1: Increase Awareness of Trends in the Family-Career Connection

A variety of trends have emerged related to the family-career connection including the trend for more women to work, the increasing importance of a woman's income for the family's economic security, and an increase in the number of younger women who are choosing long-term career commitments. Work in the area of futures suggests that, although individuals are able to identify future trends accurately, they are less apt to infer the meaning of these trends for their own personal lives. When presented with future trends related to family and career, young people are apt to understand the trends but to continue to assume that they will live in traditional two-parent families with the husband working and the wife staying at home to care for children. This would suggest that the presentation of trend information is only a first, although an important, step in improving career development programs.

There is a variety of information available about the family-career connection, but this information tends to reside in different disciplines. For example, the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor collects very helpful information on trends related to working women. Trends related to fathers' involvement in family roles are often found in family life research. To achieve the goal of increasing awareness of current and future trends related to the family-career connection, it will be necessary to glean information from a variety of different fields to give a combined perspective of changes in both career and family roles.

Goal 2: Increase Understanding of Developmental Stages for Both Career and Family

Career development programs have been based on an awareness of career development stages and have derived appropriate goals for each of the these stages. Some programs provide information to program participants on career development stages so that they can identify the variety of career development decisions with which they will be dealing throughout their lives.

In addition to information on career development stages, it is increasingly important to provide information on family developmental stages. At present, if information on family stages is presented, it occurs in family life education programs rather than career development programs. Seldom are youth provided with the opportunity to analyze family and career development stages simultaneously. This joint consideration of family and career development stages can help both individuals and family units recognize the interrelationship between career and family. This awareness can increase understanding of the importance of analyzing the family implications of individual career decisions.

Goal 3: Identify Family and Career Development Stages That Carry Heavy Role Demands

Certain stages of family and career development carry particularly heavy role demands. For example, in the scheme developed by Stolte-Heiskanen

(1974), the "new parents" and "school-aged family stages" are particularly demanding. Super (1957) presented three career development stages that occur during adulthood including (1) establishment--when the individual enters and progresses with the career, (2) maintenance--when the individual incorporates past gains and maintains the current career level, and (3) decline--when the individual diminishes the level of career activity and plans for other life roles during retirement. The "establishment stage" of career development carries the heaviest role demands, whereas the maintenance and decline stages are less demanding.

By comparing the developmental stages of the family and of a career, it is possible to identify stages that carry heavy role demands and to recognize that completion of these stages simultaneously can create role overload for some or all of the family members. Without an awareness of the family life stages, it is possible to develop career plans that seem feasible only to discover that family demands create conflict and/or make individual career plans difficult or impossible to achieve.

Goal 4: Identify Family System Strategies for Dealing with or Decreasing the Probability of Heavy Role Demands

If high-demand family and career development stages occur simultaneously, there will be heavy role demands on family members. If these high-demand stages of career and family are not to occur simultaneously, certain decisions need to be made. A variety of strategies are available to avoid heavy role demands, some of which are traditional and some of which are emerging as a new generation of young adults attempts to reconcile family and career. In career planning programs, it is important to allow individuals the freedom to select the strategies that are most congruent with their goals and values. For married adults, it is important for both husbands and wives to share and decide jointly upon strategies that they wish to use to reduce heavy role demands.

Such strategies fall into several general categories, including varying the timing of family and career, accommodating career goals to family goals or family to career goals, reducing the size of the family, and negotiating family and career goals with other family members. Timing includes delaying marriage, start of family, or entry into career. Accommodation includes a redefinition of standards of performance for career and for family, thus allowing increased energy and time to deal with both roles. Reduction of size of family is currently evidenced in the reduction in birthrates. Smaller family size results in decreased family demands and decreased length of time spent in high-demand family development stages. Finally, negotiation of family and career roles involves the definition of roles for men and women related to career and family that may vary from traditional sex roles. Any combination of these strategies can be helpful in reducing heavy role demands. While the goal of career development programs is not to advocate specific strategies, it is important to help individuals and families move toward reducing the level of role demands on all family members, thus increasing the equity of role demands across the family.

Goal 5: Identify Barriers to the Family-Career Connection and Select Strategies That Reduce These Barriers

There are a number of barriers that inhibit the successful negotiation of the family-career connection for both men and women. The goal of planning for the family-career connection is to increase personal satisfaction of individual family members while maintaining the capacity of the family to meet various family needs including economic support, child care, and home maintenance. Barriers to this process can be categorized as those within the individual, within the family, within the employment situation, and within the community and broader society. Individual and family barriers tend to center around sex role definitions. For women, the importance of family roles has traditionally been stressed more than career roles. For men, the opposite has been true. These traditional sex roles have had a powerful influence on the ways individuals perceive themselves in relation to career and family; or on the extent to which individuals have had the opportunity to develop the required skills for success in career and family roles; and on the spoken or unspoken agreements that husbands and wives have about the roles each will play within the family. Another major barrier related to the family has been the breakdown of the extended family system due to geographic mobility. Extended family support systems that could reinforce the family-career connection are not available to many families.

On the broader front, major barriers exist in the employment situation, the community, and National policy. Changes are beginning to occur in these areas, and individuals need to be aware of them and to consider the availability of these employer and community supports as they make specific career decisions. Employer supports include such arrangements as flexible working hours, maternity benefits, paternity benefits, flexible workplaces, sick leave for children's illness, leave without pay with position assured for child-rearing absences, on-site child care, and subsidies for child care. Community support services include a variety of arrangements for quality child care, extended school programs for school-age children, and increased use of a variety of home maintenance services.

The reduction of barriers to the family-career connection is an important aspect of career planning. First, these barriers must be identified by the individual and the family. When they are related to the individual and the family, a variety of counseling experiences may be helpful in reducing these barriers and in developing mutually agreeable role definitions within the family. When the barriers are evident within the employment situation and the community, successful strategies include careful evaluation of employment situations before accepting employment and advocacy measures to develop an increase in benefits and services that may not be currently available.

Goal 6: Explore Personal Benefits of Combining Family and Career for the Individual

The review of the literature suggests that both career and family roles have meaning and bring personal satisfaction to both men and women. Although traditional sex roles have tended to isolate men into career roles and women

into family roles, individuals who are combining these roles indicate important personal benefits. Helping individuals involved in family-career planning understand the benefits of each of these roles may help to increase the salience of these roles. Research suggests that men and women who combine these roles are more androgynous; that is, they combine characteristics typically attributed only to males or only to females. For example, career-oriented women tend to evidence male-associated characteristics such as self-directedness, assertiveness, independence, and self-sufficiency. Although they evidence these characteristics, they do not reject other feminine characteristics. A parallel finding is evident in studies of men who assume primary responsibility for child care. These men were found to behave more like fathers in the nature of interactions with the children but more like mothers in their willingness to assume primary responsibility. Research also indicates that both men and women find that there are positive benefits from increasing their participation in nontraditional sex roles.

It appears that there are benefits in combining participation in family and career roles. These benefits are derived by the individual and by the family. Career development programs can help the individual become more open to considering a variety of career and family roles by clearly defining the benefits of these roles.

Program Strategies for Strengthening the Family-Career Connection

During the past several years both career development and family life education programs have paid increasing attention to the family-career connection. A variety of programs and materials have been developed that emphasize specific aspects of family and career. As there has been increased interest in the career development of women and in the reduction of occupational stereotyping, a variety of career development program materials have been developed. The increased number of women working has had an influence on family and parenting; family life education programs have responded to the importance of helping youth and adults understand the family life cycle, emerging family roles, and new patterns of child care. This section describes representative programs that have been identified in the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) and Vocational Education Curriculum Materials (VECM) databases. These are presented not to give a comprehensive catalog of programs but to clarify the types of programs that are available to enhance the family-career connection.

Career Development Program Strategies

A variety of career development programs have been designed to provide information on nontraditional careers for men and women, to reduce occupational stereotyping, and to support the exploration of emerging sex role attitudes and behaviors.

Career information resources. The increased interest in helping girls and women understand nontraditional careers and reduce occupational stereotyping has resulted in the development of a number of guidebooks that present career

information on nontraditional occupations. Carvell et al. (1979) developed a guidebook to help students understand nontraditional occupations, the trends that are creating opportunities in such occupations, and the attitudes of employers toward these trends. Cauley (1981) developed a guide for women interested in nontraditional occupations. This guide discusses both the rewards and the myths related to nontraditional occupations and provides women with a checklist to determine whether they are ready to choose such occupations. Having set the stage, the guide provides descriptions of occupational areas with sketches of sample jobs that are considered nontraditional for women.

Materials to reduce occupational stereotyping. Under the Women's Educational Equity Act Program a variety of programs have been developed to help girls and women be more open to considering nontraditional career areas. Several types of materials have been developed to reduce occupational stereotyping. Perhaps the most common approach is to develop materials for use by students. These range from short orientation programs, lasting only a few weeks, to semester or yearlong courses. Tate (1981a, 1981b) developed both a high school and a middle school version of a 5-day orientation program entitled NEW (Nontraditional Employment for Women). These materials are designed to provide information about skilled employment for women and to help students with career decision making.

Amarillo College (1981) developed a preindustrial training workshop to acquaint women with nontraditional careers in the skilled trades and to help them become more knowledgeable about their options in making informed career decisions. This 5-day workshop provided an opportunity for hands-on experience in nontraditional occupational areas, acquainted women with terminology used in industrial training programs, addressed special problems that women may encounter in nontraditional occupational settings, and suggested strategies for dealing with these problems.

Some programs have been developed to be more comprehensive than the short-term awareness programs. Jackson County School District (1982) developed a career education program for elementary students in science that spans six grade levels. Instructional suggestions are given for five 1-hour sessions at each of the six grade levels. The goal of the program is to help elementary school girls become aware of nontraditional science careers and be more open to these careers through participating in such activities as hands-on experiences, readings about women in science, discussions with women scientists, and films showing women in science. Hamar, Hunter, and Moore (1981) developed the Women in Non-Traditional Careers (WINC) Curriculum Guide. This is a nine-unit course to help young and adult women explore issues related to women's employment in nontraditional occupations. The course can be taught in a semester or extended over a full school year. Topics covered by the curriculum include information on the participation of women in the labor market, a description of nontraditional career areas, various training paths that can lead to nontraditional career areas, strategies for succeeding in nontraditional occupations, and developing plans to coordinate career with other life goals. The materials include a variety of learning modules and activities that can be tailored to various learning situations.

The YWCA of Boston (1981) has developed a program for middle school students entitled Connections. This is a multimedia curriculum package aimed at informing students in grades six through nine about women's work prospects and problems, and new opportunities for women in nontraditional occupations. It is also designed to help students engage in school activities to explore skilled trade and technical fields. The leader's guide provides general information about women in work, resource materials for use with students, and information about how to use the resource materials in an educational setting.

In addition to materials developed specifically for use with students and adults, another approach has been to develop resource materials for counselors and teachers. Canora (1981) developed a training package for high school counselors to use in making students' parents more aware of different vocational programs and of their value for students. This package focuses on the influence of parents' attitudes on nontraditional career choices and on the importance of making counselors more aware of sex equity issues. Liggett et al. (1979, 1982), working through the Nebraska Commission on the Status of Women, developed two resource books that provide curriculum materials for increasing awareness of sex bias and promoting more positive attitudes toward participation in sex-fair career education and counseling. These two resource books include activities for both facilitators and learners. Facilitators, including teachers, counselors, administrators, and parents, are given the opportunity to explore their own attitudes and to plan how they will use the learner materials.

A final example of a teacher handbook to increase sex-fair career planning activities was developed by Pfiffner (1983). This guide provides suggestions for conducting inservice training sessions on Title IX, job interviews, sex role stereotyping, and changing sex roles. It includes an extensive bibliography of various materials that can support sex-fair career guidance.

Career development activities that focus on changing sex roles. The previous discussion focused on career development materials that are designed to reduce occupational stereotyping and to communicate changes in sex roles that have resulted as more women enter the workplace and become committed to long-term careers. Programs described in this section focus more heavily on various decisions related to the family-career connection than the sex equity programs. Deutsch and Wolleat (1981) described a group counseling program for gifted fifth-grade girls that was designed to reduce the notion that women must choose between family and career. Results indicated that the program was effective in changing students' attitudes toward personal role options, home, and family responsibilities. Gray (1980) suggested counseling strategies for women who want to combine both a profession and a family. Through counseling, women can identify a variety of problems and conflicts that may be encountered and develop effective strategies for coping with these problems. Several writers have discussed the needs and conflicts of dual-career families. Herr and Zimmerman (1981) discussed the need to incorporate information on dual-career families into home economics programs. Hester and Dickerson (1982) provided practical suggestions for counselors who wish to help clients plan to combine family roles and career roles. They suggest that counseling should focus on such areas as socialization and role expectations, work role conflicts, and family role conflicts.

Project BORN-FREE (Hansen 1980) was a major effort that resulted in the development of materials designed to increase the awareness of teachers, counselors, administrators, and parents regarding adolescent career development patterns. This program draws heavily on the research literature related to such areas as sex role stereotyping, self-concept, locus of control, achievement motivation, psychological barriers, career information processing, influences on career development, and interventions to reduce sex bias in career options. This series also includes videotapes that present individuals from different occupations, age levels, and backgrounds talking about their lives, life-styles, expectations, and the effects of socialization on them and their careers. Through these videotaped case studies, career development staff can gain a clear understanding of how sex roles are developed and modified.

Strategies from Family Development Programs

A variety of approaches have been developed to increase family and parenting skills. Some of these approaches have been developed for family life education in the home economics area. Other approaches have emerged from the tradition of family counseling and therapy. These approaches have resulted in the development of specific materials that, if combined with career development materials, can provide more comprehensive programs to support the family-career connection.

Family life education programs. Jacobson and Lawhon (1983) summarized changes occurring in work and family roles, disparities between employer and family expectations, and life-style changes that are creating new perspectives of the relationship between home and work. They suggested that family life education can integrate and enhance the interrelatedness of family life with roles, responsibilities, and stresses of work. Lingren et al. (1981) outlined competencies that are needed in marriage and family life. They outlined specific competencies needed in each of the various family life stages and provided a model that offers strategies for enhancing quality relations at each stage of the family life cycle. These competencies and suggested intervention strategies can be used either within family life education programs or by family counselors.

Several family life curriculum materials have been developed that focus on incorporating new concepts related to the family and on emphasizing the family-career connection as one important aspect of family development. The Home Economic Educators of West Virginia (1981) developed a curriculum entitled Adult Roles and Functions that includes such topics as family relations, consumer education, management, careers, housing, nutrition, and parenting. Family Living, a curriculum developed by Texas Tech University (1981), focuses on understanding self and others, gaining social acceptance, moving toward adulthood, changing relationships, accepting family roles, living independently, establishing a basis for marriage and family, parenting, living as a family, family life cycle, managing problems and crises, and relating family living to career and job opportunities.

Another example of curriculum was developed by Truitt (1981). This resource is a family living supplement that contains a variety of activities

that can enrich family living curriculum, including activities related to career planning, securing a job, and career success. The Family Life Cycle Resource Center is a unique idea described by Stroble (1978). This resource center was established in an elementary school to provide information on family life for use by parents, students, and teachers as they address various aspects of family life and family development.

There have been several developments emerging from the family counseling area that provide interesting approaches to developing family and parenting skills. Relationship enhancement was developed by Guerney (1977). This approach focuses on training in four different types of communication skills. These include the expressor mode where individuals learn skills in self-awareness and self-expression; the empathic responder mode in which individuals learn listening and reflective responding skills; mode switching in which individuals learn how to change modes to facilitate communication; and the facilitator mode in which individuals learn how to help others develop these basic communication skills. This basic relationship enhancement model has been applied extensively to support communication among married couples and to support parent-child communication. Although developed originally for family therapy purposes, applications have been developed to enhance communication in families who are not in crisis.

Stanley (1980) reported on a family education program that incorporates several approaches. This 10-session, 25-hour program includes elements of parent effectiveness training and Adlerian parent education. Combined with this is the work of Kohlberg on moral development. The program includes four different phases: phase 1 emphasizes basic empathic listening skills, phase 2 introduces procedures for using the family council to discuss family rules and to promote democracy within the family, phase 3 teaches methods of conflict resolution, and phase 4 focuses on methods of dealing with conflicts for which there is no easy resolution.

The structured family enrichment program has been developed by L'Abate (1975). This program includes 139 structured lessons in 26 different areas related to family living such as financial management, helpfulness, and negotiation. The structured lessons can be used flexibly depending on the needs of specific families. A final example of family development programs from the counseling area is Understanding Us (Carnes 1981). The program is designed to enhance cohesion and adaptability within families. The program is offered to groups of 10 to 12 families who meet for four 2-hour sessions. The topics discussed during the sessions are adapting, caring, growing, and changing.

Parenting education strategies. Parenting education materials are also beginning to reflect changes in family and career patterns. Schultz (1979, 1981) developed a series of curriculum materials for high school students entitled Contemporary Parenting Choices. These materials stress the changing aspects of parenthood including new choices surrounding the decision to have a child and new pressures and aspects of raising children in today's society. Gershner (1979) developed a curriculum on child development that focuses on the changing needs of children and parents across the family life span in light of current and future social trends. This curriculum stresses such competency areas as parenting, child development, principles and theories of

human development, human relations skills, and early childhood education. The University of Missouri (1981), under contract with the Missouri State Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, developed a semester-long course on Family Relationships and Parenting Education. One of the modules in this series focuses on adult parenting roles including definitions of parenting, considering parenting, developmental stages in parenting, social responsibility for parenting, and career development.

A number of parenting programs have emerged from the family therapy area. One longstanding approach has been programs such as Lamaze courses to help parents prepare for childbirth and develop parenting skills. Increasingly, expectant fathers are participating in such experiences. Resnick et al. (1978) extended fathers' involvement in parent education programs from infancy to the preschool stage. Parent Effectiveness Training (Gordon 1976) consists of eight 3-hour group sessions that emphasize such areas as active listening, the use of I-messages, and use of the no-lose method for conflict resolution. Adlerian Parent Education programs, including Parent Study Groups and Systematic Training for Effective Parenting, represent another approach to parent education. In this approach parents hold study groups that last for 8 to 12 weeks and utilize a text, Children: The Challenge (Dreikurs and Soltz 1964), and a leader's manual (Soltz 1967). This approach focuses on helping parents understand the reasons why children misbehave, develop democratic techniques to correct behavior, and learn how to hold family councils.

Summary of Existing Program Strategies

This review of sample programs related to the family-career connection indicates that recently developed program strategies reflect strengths in the following areas:

- Specialized career information has been developed with particular emphasis on providing information on nontraditional occupations for women. This information extends typical career information to include a discussion of possible barriers to career entry and possible strategies for reducing those barriers.

- The majority of recently developed career development programs in this area focus on the area of sex equity by attempting to reduce occupational stereotyping and by encouraging girls and women to explore nontraditional occupational areas. Comprehensive curriculum and counseling materials have been developed to achieve this sex equity goal.

- Another set of materials closely related to sex equity have focused on women's family-career role options. These materials have more strongly connected both career and family roles and have focused on helping girls and women develop a greater openness to combining these two roles.

- A variety of family living curriculum materials have been developed that accurately translate new information on family development and the family life cycle for use in family life education programs. These materials are effective in helping individuals appreciate various

aspects of the family including family roles, structure, and developmental stages.

- o Family life education materials are focusing on career as an important aspect of family life. This discussion of career includes not only the importance of career development for women but also its importance for men.

- o Family life education programs are also stressing parenting as an important family role. Discussions of parenting are stressing such areas as the choice of whether and when to parent, important parenting skills, and emerging community supports for the parenting functions such as day care centers.

The review also reflects several deficiencies in materials related to the family-career connection. The first major problem is that few, if any, programs attempt to integrate career and family. Career development continues to be the province of career education and career guidance programs, whereas family development continues to be delivered primarily through health and home economics programs. The second problem is that most of the materials have been developed with an exclusive focus on career development of women with little emphasis on the interrelationship of the career roles of men and women. While this has been a natural reaction to the deficit in quality materials to enhance the career development of women, similar materials need to be developed to help men explore their family and parent roles. A final problem is that most of the family life education programs have been delivered through the home economics program, which continues to have predominantly female enrollments although the percentage of male enrollments is increasing. This again means that boys and men are having limited exposure to these family life education learning experiences.

Summary and Recommendations

This section has suggested a series of program goals that can strengthen the focus on the family-career connection within career development programs and has reviewed existing program strategies from both career development and family life education programs. The proposed goals suggest that family and career plans should be developed concurrently and should be based on an understanding of the relationship between individual career plans and family roles and development. The review of existing program options suggests that at present there are few program strategies that attempt to integrate information related to the family-career connection and that available programs tend to be targeted primarily to women, whether for the purpose of increasing their career awareness or strengthening their family and parenting skills. There is a need to develop additional career development strategies that strengthen the family-career connection. As these strategies are developed, special consideration needs to be given to such areas as the readiness and motivation of program participants, the differing needs of families from various ethnic groups and socioeconomic backgrounds, and special needs of single-parent families. Possible strategies might focus on the following:

- Provide counseling and guidance experiences for both men and women to increase the salience of variance of various role options related to both career and family

- Develop materials to communicate information on trends in the areas of both career and family

- Provide role models and mentors for both men and women who have successfully planned and implemented various role adaptations to support both career and family roles

- Provide experiential activities such as role playing, case studies, and simulations to help men and women personalize future trends related to career and family and test various role options against reality

- Provide awareness experiences for parents to increase their awareness of the emerging career and family role options and to explore their feelings about these options

- Develop family-career connection curriculum materials that integrate concepts related to both career and family and provide an opportunity for both boys and girls to participate in these learning experiences

- Develop conjoint family-career counseling for married couples, or couples considering marriage, that helps them examine personal sex role expectations, negotiate career and family roles, and develop cooperative strategies for dealing with role conflicts

As the family-career connection becomes increasingly important and as the roles that men and women play within this connection become less rigid, it is essential to develop career development program strategies that help both men and women successfully negotiate the family-career connection.

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